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CREATING SUBURBIA – THE GARDENESQUE, PLACE,
ASSOCIATION AND THE RUSTIC TRADITION:
THE LANDSCAPE GARDENING PHILOSOPHY AND
PRACTICES OF EDWARD KEMP (1817–91)

This paper focuses on the intellectual context for Edward Kemp's work, his books and their impact, by employing various examples from specific commissions with which he was engaged, including Grosvenor Park, Chester. It evaluates the design influences that informed his approach to landscape gardening and assesses the extent to which his published output and public and private commissions influenced the philosophy and practices of landscape gardening from the late 1840s to the end of his active career.

Despite its unprepossessing title and subject matter, Edward Kemp's *How to Lay Out a Small Garden* (London, 1850) became one of the most influential nineteenth-century landscape gardening works and attracted favourable reviews from the gardening periodicals with three English and various American editions between 1850 and 1911.¹ Kemp's work helping Joseph Paxton (1803–65) to create Birkenhead Park, his role as park superintendent there for forty years, and many public and private commissions for gardens, parks such as Queen's Park, Crewe, and burial grounds, such as Anfield and Flaybrick cemeteries, ensured his ideas and practices continued to have an impact. Most influential of all was Kemp's application of the mixed or gardenesque style, which combined the picturesque with formalism, which he developed working with Paxton and through knowledge of the work of John Claudius Loudon, Uvedale Price, William Gilpin and Humphry Repton.² Victorian parks and gardens exemplifying the suburban ideal and designed according to the kind of picturesque naturalism or mixed style advocated by Loudon, Paxton and Kemp operated effectively as what Michel Foucault defined as heterotopias or emplacements that had striking connections with other kinds of places while suspending, neutralizing or reversing the various relations 'designated, reflected, or represented by them'.³

This paper argues that grounded in his formative work with Paxton at Chatsworth and Birkenhead and long-time landscape gardening practice, Kemp's philosophy and methods effectively encapsulated – and helped to shape – the ethos of Victorian middle-class suburban development. While the impact of books on the theory and practices of landscape gardening by contemporaries such as Joshua Major and Charles H. J. Smith was relatively limited, successive editions of Kemp's *How to Lay Out a Garden* were used to educate new landscape gardeners championed by very influential figures such as Frederick Law Olmsted and Frank Waugh. Besides the Paxton and Birkenhead associations, this was largely because Kemp so effectively marshalled the ideas and techniques of the picturesque, including the powerful and multifaceted principles of

association and focus upon individual plants, as part of an eclectic philosophy, in order to create green heterotopias for the Victorian age. This, along with his contribution to Birkenhead Park, explains why the New York Board of Commissioners seriously considered Kemp as landscape gardener for Central Park along with Paxton and the French landscape architect Jean-Charles Adolphe Alphand (1817–91) before the commission was eventually offered to Olmsted.⁴

VICTORIAN PARKS AS HETEROTOPIAS

Foucault defined the concepts of heterotopia and heterochronia in a short but fecund study published as 'Des espaces autres', which was originally presented at the Architectural Studies Circle at Paris in 1967 on one of his frequent visits back to France. At the time he was living among French expatriates in the relaxed and beautiful climate of Sidi Bou Said, a village near Tunis in North Africa, but he was highly reluctant to publish the article, only agreeing to do so in 1984 for a special exhibition in Berlin on 'Idea, Process and Result'. The concept of heterotopia has been used to facilitate analysis of various social phenomena, especially institutions such as libraries, galleries and museums. However, despite recent suggestive comments by historians such as Patrick Joyce, and the use of the concept in a major study of Viennese parks by Robert Rotenberg, it has never been employed in general studies of British park or cemetery development. Yet, Foucault's ideas can help to illuminate the reasons why urban parks were designed, planted and experienced, including the impact of picturesque and gardenesque landscape gardening philosophies, the appropriation of park spaces by different social groups, and the relationships between urban parks and the rest of society.⁵

Foucault defined heterotopias as emplacements that had striking connections with other kinds of places whilst suspending, neutralizing or reversing the various relations 'designated, reflected, or represented by them'. They were simultaneously connected with others, yet also able to act at variance with other types of emplacement. Utopias that had qualities of being unreal occupied 'no real place', while maintaining general direct, or inverse, relations with other 'real' social places so that they either perfected or reversed society. There were also real places in all societies that were 'actually realized utopias' in which 'real emplacements' were simultaneously 'represented, contested and reversed'. These were external, though localizable, but because of their total difference from the places they reflected or referred to were designated heterotopias. Between the two were 'mixed, intermediate' experiences akin to looking into mirrors in that although they occupied no real place, they opened up virtual unreal space beyond the surface creating illusions of situation akin to a heterotopia. Just as mirrors brought the observer to look back upon their 'own visibility' so that they reconstituted themselves where they were, so they created images of places that were simultaneously unreal yet connected to all other places around.⁶

Heterotopias existed in all cultures and societies, taking multifarious forms that were susceptible to analysis. Foucault defined two types: heterotopias of deviation and of crisis. The latter were 'privileged or sacred or forbidden places' set aside for those in states of 'crisis' with respect to their society. They were prevalent in 'so-called primitive societies' and had 'all but disappeared' in modern societies, but vestiges did survive in public schools, military training or club initiation rituals. These tended to be replaced by heterotopias of deviation where people whose behaviour was defined as 'deviant with respect to the mean or the required norm' were placed which included rest homes, psychiatric hospitals, prisons and old people's homes. Heterotopias have 'a precise and specific operation' within societies, but it was possible for them to operate very differently from their original purpose through time. They are able to concentrate

in a single real place and may contain 'several emplacements [...] incompatible in themselves', are usually associated with 'temporal discontinuities' (heterochronias) and begin to function fully when fracturing with traditional time. They are also characterized by systems of admittance and control rendering them isolated yet penetrable at the same time. They have important functions in relation to the remaining space which are 'spread between two poles' either creating spaces of illusion that denounce 'all real space, all real emplacements' within which 'life is partitioned off as even more illusory', or they create different spaces that are 'as perfect, as meticulous, as well-arranged as ours is disorganised' and therefore become heterotopias of compensation.⁷

Foucault saw gardens and cemeteries as two of the longest established and most important heterotopias. Gardens were a 'carpet on which the entire world attains its symbolic perfect' and a small 'parcel of the world' that was also the 'whole world at the same time', while cemeteries were places set apart yet connected to 'all the other emplacements of the city or the society'.⁸ In many ways, as we will see, as highly differentiated places intended to be 'as perfect, as meticulous' and 'as well-arranged' as mainstream society was 'disorganised', the public parks, villa gardens and garden cemeteries designed by Kemp were heterotopias of compensation supposed to transport those who walked around them to worlds beyond their everyday experiences. Arboretums, pinetums, botanical gardens and hothouses were, in Bruno Latour's phrase, 'centres of calculation' for disciplining nature and imaginative gateways to empires and distant realms; gardens represented an idealized rustic harmony in the bosom of nature; while garden cemeteries were sacred places to commune with the ancestors and portals to eternity.⁹

KEMP, PAXTON AND BIRKENHEAD

Kemp's association with Paxton and the work they undertook together launched his career and, in many ways, as *How to Lay Out a Garden* demonstrates, he was a product of both the settlement and park of Birkenhead. Paxton became, of course, an archetypal Victorian businessman as well as landscape gardener, Liberal politician, sanitary reformer and architect, who rose from humble origins to be knighted by Queen Victoria. Following Loudon's death in December 1843 and his achievements at Chatsworth, Derbyshire, for his patron the 6th Duke of Devonshire, he was the most influential national landscape gardener and leading champion of gardenesque eclecticism. Yet, despite editing gardening magazines and producing works such as the *Pocket Botanical Dictionary* (1840), Paxton never published a treatise on landscape gardening and Kemp was the only one of his protégés to do so. His book was therefore widely seen to encapsulate his mentor's landscape gardening philosophy. Furthermore, he was a key figure in the development of Birkenhead, serving as superintendent and consulting superintendent of the park for over forty years. He lived in the Italian Lodge until 1860 (Figure 1) and subsequently at 74 Park Road West directly adjoining the park from where he conducted his business. In terms of public perception, Kemp was closely associated with the development of what was widely regarded as one of the most successful new planned settlements in Britain and the first publicly funded park in the world.

Originally intended as a suburb and then rival port to Liverpool on the Wirral Peninsular in Cheshire across the River Mersey, the development of Birkenhead followed a gridiron plan by Edinburgh architect Gillespie Graham. It was overseen by Improvement Commissioners appointed by act of Parliament in 1833, most of whom were Liverpool merchants. The settlement included public institutions as well as houses with gardens. As health problems in Liverpool associated with industrial production, population increase and poor sanitation grew and the Wirral became more accessible through steamboat and railway connections supported by industrialists, such as John and William Laird,



Figure 1. Italian Lodge in Birkenhead Park. Photo: author, 2006



Figure 2. Hamilton Square in Birkenhead, c.1905; from *Fine Art Views of Liverpool, Birkenhead and New Brighton* (Liverpool: Philip, Son & Nephew, c.1910)

so it became an attractive place to settle and an embodiment of the kind of improving, municipal, laissez faire, Liberal political philosophy advocated by Paxton (Figure 2).¹⁰

An Improvement Act of 1843 enabled the commissioners to develop what became the one hundred and twenty-five-acre Birkenhead Park surrounded by villa development

that was intended to cover the cost of landscaping and planting. On what was widely seen as a difficult, flat and boggy site, through careful landscaping and planting using similar techniques to those employed at Chatsworth, such as tree transplanting to provide an immediate impression of maturity, Paxton, Kemp, his superintendent, as well as Lewis Hornblower (1823–79) and John Robertson (1808/09–52), the architects, together with their gardeners and labourers, created a masterpiece of public park design. Two large lakes were dug in the Upper and Lower Park respectively, with islands and sinuous borders, while the excavated material was used to create sloping mounds. Visitors were able to move along serpentine paths across lawns and carriage drives, passing plantations with carefully contrived vistas, dramatic rock gardens, specially constructed bridges, boathouses and eight architecturally distinct lodges. Even if the final result did not fully follow Paxton's original scheme, the villas and gardens surrounding the park were always integral to the plans and were intended to cover the costs of improvement, as was subsequently the case at Stanley Park in Liverpool.¹¹

The combination of an ambitious landscape park with urban, suburban and industrial development and bustling docks provided a magnificent spectacle from across the Mersey and it was widely admired as part of a successful business venture. According to Samuel Bagshaw, a 'few straggling houses on a coast, bleak and sterile' had been transformed by the 'genius of commercial adventure' into a place 'priceless in value' with the 'docks, railway, market, squares, streets, public edifices and park', which together compared 'in beauty and extent with the finest in the kingdom'. The *Edinburgh Journal* described Birkenhead and its park as 'one of the greatest wonders of the age'. After the Midland Railway Company organized special trains to Liverpool carrying visitors from Nottingham, Derby and Leicester in August 1845, the *Nottingham Journal* described Birkenhead as 'one of the greatest wonders in the world' and its example helped to inspire the development of Nottingham's own interconnected system of green spaces and residential areas following the Enclosure Act of 1845.¹²

Liverpool was, of course, the main gateway for British and Irish emigrants to the New World, but also the chief transatlantic port for those returning to the old country, as well as American visitors. With Birkenhead just a short ferry ride across the Mersey, its new celebrated park was an obvious attraction to visit. The American landscape gardeners Andrew Jackson Downing (1815–52) and Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903) were greatly impressed with Birkenhead and its park, which through them had a major impact upon the design and development of North American parks. According to Downing, the park was 'one of the most interesting public places of enjoyment in all Europe' and all the more valuable because it had been 'formed by the people themselves and not made and presented to them by the sovereign', and he urged citizens of other large towns, including New York, to observe the advantages of such institutions as a 'breathing place' and exercise ground for the 'refreshment' of 'jaded citizens'.¹³ Likewise, although he made some criticisms, Olmsted was extremely enthusiastic after visiting in 1850 and 1858, believing Birkenhead to be the ideal model for American towns to emulate. In 1851, he described Birkenhead Park as a 'people's park' and designated the settlement which was 'increasing with a rapidity hardly paralleled in the New World', 'the most important suburb of Liverpool', akin to Brooklyn and New York or Charleston and Boston.

Olmsted believed that the improvements had been led by the 'very liberal and enterprising management of the land-owners' and emphasized the 'tasteful' and well-planted public squares with iron railings, well-paved, lighted and broad streets, 'public wash and bathing house' and surrounding villas with 'little gardens about them'. Birkenhead Park was a 'thick, luxuriant and diversified' green space where the art of gardening had 'reached a perfection that I had never before dreamed of' (Figure 3). He



Figure 3. Lake and boathouse in Birkenhead Park. Photo: author, 2006

was pleased to see that park ‘privileges’ were being enjoyed ‘about equally by all classes’, including many ‘of the common rank’, women and children and those ‘suffering from ill health’. Like Bagshaw and the Nottingham park promoters, Olmsted was impressed at how mere ‘worthless wastes’ had become a place ‘of priceless value’ with the sounds of ‘bleating goats and braying of asses’ being replaced by the ‘hasty click and clatter of many hundred busy trowels and hammers’ and ‘thronged streets of stately edifices’. Birkenhead encapsulated the ‘advanced science, taste’ and ‘enterprising spirit’ of ‘profitable commerce’ at its best and was a ‘model town [...] not only to philanthropists and men of taste, but [also] to speculators and men of business’. It was therefore not surprising that so many of Olmsted’s subsequent park designs featured ‘masses of shrubs with winding paths on steep ground’, planting on slopes with lawns and a mixture of ‘the picturesque and pastoral landscape styles’, nor that Kemp’s book, which was largely written at Birkenhead and encapsulated the methods that created it and suburban improving ethos so well, should have been one of his favourite landscape gardening works.¹⁴

SUBURBAN GARDENING ETHOS

Kemp’s landscape gardening philosophy and practices are evident from his designs and publications, especially *How to Lay Out a Garden* (1858), a series of articles in the *Gardener’s Chronicle* and other periodicals, and *The Parks, Gardens, etc. of London and its Suburbs* (London, 1851) – originally written as a guide for visitors to the Great Exhibition, but expanded into a separate book.¹⁵ Coming from rural Streatham in Surrey, just south of London, and having trained, like Paxton, at the Horticultural Society Gardens at Chiswick, under the botanist, gardener and writer John Lindley (1799–1865) and then at Chatsworth, Kemp had detailed knowledge and experience of metropolitan gardening, horticulture and plant collecting. *How to Lay Out a Small Garden* (London, 1850) was intended to be a ‘general guide’ for middle-class ‘amateurs in choosing, forming or improving an estate from a quarter of an acre to thirty acres in extent’. In the considerably enlarged second (1858) and third (1864) editions, the title was shortened

to *How to Lay Out a Garden* and the appeal and usefulness of the book considerably increased by the inclusion of maps, plans and also 'pictorial sketches' of landscapes by the printmaker, portrait engraver and genre painter John Watkins Chapman (1832–1903) of Dulwich, who had been one of Kemp's pupils.¹⁶ A review of the second edition in the *Gardener's Chronicle* judged that although there were 'more learned, more classic works on the subject of landscape scenery', this was 'the best book on pure garden design in the English language' and one to be 'perused' with 'very great pleasure and advantage', along with the works of Gilpin and Price.¹⁷

Kemp had effectively identified a major new market for suburban landscape gardening publications. He claimed that the book was originally motivated by many journeys he had made 'passing through the suburbs of large towns', especially London, where he had been much struck by the 'incongruity and dullness observable in the majority of small gardens', where it was 'all the more necessary and powerful' to apply the 'beneficent influence of art'. He wanted to make the 'general appearance of such districts [...] more gratifying to passers-by' and the 'arrangement of individual gardens more productive of pleasure' to their occupants, and his landscape gardening philosophy and methods were therefore intended to have both private and public benefits. This was because there was so much about beauty in 'art and nature' that had 'a humanising and elevating influence' upon it, so it was 'almost impossible for the observant wayfarer' to come across improved gardens without being 'cheered and benefited', while for individual inhabitants who saw them daily, the effects were 'of a still deeper kind'.¹⁸

As Ann Bermingham has argued, the middle-class gardeners that Kemp's work appealed to were inspired by Victorian ideals of 'naturalness and rusticity', the 'purest expression' of which was suburban development driven by rapid urban expansion in places such as Birkenhead and originally inspired by improved industrial and estate villages. As Loudon's gardenesque emphasis upon rational recreation, systematic collections, hot houses, and close observation and study of individual plants and trees demonstrated, natural history had become a popular pastime.¹⁹ The middle class showed off their taste and discernment, gardening skills and love of natural history by collecting exotic trees and shrubs, encouraged by the new gardening publications such as Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine* and Paxton's *Horticultural Register*. Loudon encouraged plant collecting for gardens and even the formation of miniature arboretums, pinetums or botanical gardens within, as well as conservatories and hot houses filled with exotic plants from around the globe that could not survive British winters.²⁰

The countryside was still needed as a place of escape but also within towns – suburban development, garden cemeteries and public parks used the values of landscape gardening with a 'picturesque sensibility' and 'an ideal of natural beauty' to perceive the land as 'scenery to be appreciated' and preserve landscapes 'in an archaic state of quaintness'. The suburban promise of a 'rustic village life' achieved by the 'picturesque sensibility' remained as an 'ever-present promise of community' attractive to the two-thirds of people who in the mid-nineteenth century, like Kemp, lived in London's southern suburbs or those around Liverpool yet had been born in the countryside. Describing a walk around the Streatham of his childhood, Kemp made it sound like a designed landscape akin to Birkenhead Park. He emphasized the 'park-like scenery' either side of the old Brighton Road with 'splendid elm trees overshadowing' and the 'beautiful grassy slope' of the common 'environed with trees [...] tastefully scattered along the sides' and adjoining villas, providing prospects 'not to be surpassed in any other part of the suburbs'. What most still regarded as a countryside beyond the clutches of the metropolis, Kemp viewed as becoming suburban, complete with park-like common and 'tastefully-scattered' plantations.²¹

How to Lay Out a Garden sought to encapsulate the most 'rustic-looking' and picturesque suburban developments in places such as Hampstead, Denmark Hill, Camberwell and Dulwich and especially John Nash's Park Villages East and West (1824) adjoining Regent's Park with their 'fetish of rusticity', decorative gardens and trees screening and separating houses to preserve the privacy of home and family and reinforce distinctions between work and domestic living.²² Loudon and Kemp both lived in suburban houses with gardens clearly inspired by those created by Nash and Repton. Loudon wrote his *Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion* (1838) at his Porchester Terrace house in Bayswater just up from Kensington Gardens while Kemp wrote *How to Lay Out a Small Garden* and his book on the parks and gardens of London while residing in the Italian villa at Birkenhead Park. Both argued that suburban villa gardens like their own, even when small, could be reduced versions of much larger country house gardens with adept use of gardening and planting to create domestic havens, which, as investments, increased in value and combined the best of nature and the countryside with ready access to urban living.

Kemp's books and articles were, of course, primarily aimed at middle-class and elite readers as well as landscape gardeners, although, like the proponents of public parks for health, morals and rational recreation, he believed they could help transform working-class behaviour, too, as well as beautifying townscape. However, *How to Lay Out a Garden* focused upon middle-class suburban villa gardens, smaller country parks and public parks, of course, and even the gardens described as 'small' were actually fairly substantial places. Kemp did not consider smaller working-class gardens or yards, and where working-class housing was described, he was critical, largely wanting to prevent it as much as possible from spoiling the views from and across elite gardens or public parks. He placed less emphasis upon the needs and education of ordinary gardeners in his publications than did Loudon, but was a successful superintendent. He welcomed proposals to place 'a numbers of handsome terraces by the sides' of Victoria Park once the 'plantations' were 'duly grown', like those around Regent's Park and Paxton's Stanley Park in Liverpool, because they would be 'of the greatest use in concealing the many mean-looking houses which now show themselves so repulsively', which was, of course, useful if they were to operate successfully as heterotopias. There was 'nothing' that was 'more desirable' when arranging public parks than to provide plans for belts of 'villas and terraces' so that 'what is disagreeable' could be 'shut out' and plantations and elevations proved 'most delightful and ornamental accompaniments'.²³ There were complaints that Kemp's Grosvenor Park in Chester was designed and planted for the elite rather than as an institution genuinely intended for the working class. Kemp's interpretation of the mixed style, application of the picturesque, formalism and principles of association was likewise primarily applicable for larger gardens and the controlled spaces of public parks and cemeteries rather than other forms of garden. Schemes such as avenues, contrivance of vistas, large-scale tree planting and use of expensive exotic specimen trees was likewise directed towards elite parks and public parks.

Kemp's sense of the hierarchy of parks and gardens is evident in *Parks, Gardens, etc. of London* most of which consists of lavish laudatory descriptions of elite green spaces such as the royal parks, the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, the Horticultural Society Gardens at Chiswick, royal palace gardens and the large private villa gardens of the aristocracy and gentry. It is significant that the park he criticized most was Victoria Park, designed by James Pennethorne (1801–71) and Samuel Curtis (1779–1860), which was intended 'chiefly for the use of the large and crowded' working-class districts of Bethnal Green, Whitechapel and Shoreditch. According to Kemp, 'everything about the execution' of the work in the park 'has been done in the worst possible manner', including the roads,

grass and plantations, which he considered were 'smothering each other', and only a fundamental remodelling and provision of a ring of élite villas to block out the 'mean-looking' working-class dwellings would improve it. It was only with the appointment of John Gibson, a fellow Paxton protégé and plant collector, that improvements to planting and layout were made.²⁴

THE PICTURESQUE AND GARDENESQUE

Kemp contrasted the formal geometric style with its terraces, straight walks, architectural flowerbeds and basins with the wavy lines and freedoms of picturesque naturalness. He drew upon writing on the picturesque from the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, especially the work of Gilpin, but also Price, Knight and Repton. In his *Parks, Gardens, etc. of London*, Kemp emphasized Gilpin's 'eye for the picturesque which has rendered his words so much esteemed'. His loving and lingering descriptions of London scenery, especially the major parks and residential suburbs to the north of the city such as Hampstead and Highgate, naturalized these developments while reflecting his own detailed knowledge of the city's landscapes. To this extent, they are highly redolent of the descriptions contained in Gilpin's tours and Georgian topographical prose and poetry, such as James Thomson's *The Seasons* (1730). Focusing on the pivotal position of villas and churches in the woody and hilly landscape, Kemp emphasized the 'exceedingly rich beauties of the prospects with their church spires and broad masses of trees'. The hills were 'such important objects in the scenery of the suburbs' and from the 'softness of their outline, the luxuriance of their woody clothing, the pleasing intermixture of villas on their slopes, and the boundless variety of prospects', which they provided 'from their sides or their summits', were some of the 'greatest and most delightful ornaments' of the area providing an 'untiring fund of interest' for artists and others.²⁵

According to Kemp, 'extreme naturalness' was 'the distinctive mark of *the picturesque*', which 'repudiates all art, or employs it solely in order to weaken or annihilate it', avoids all flowing [...] lines' or 'soft' forms. While 'serpentine lines' characterize the 'mixed style', 'zigzag, broken, rugged lines' marked the picturesque which recognized 'no symmetry', law or system.²⁶ Examples from the 'vegetable kingdom' that inspired or attracted the label picturesque had 'much of wild grace and eccentric softness' and a 'charming balance of parts' with an enticing 'magic power' as the 'very instincts of our souls ally us to what is naturally beautiful picturesqueness'. It was characterized by what Kemp described in terms highly redolent of Price's *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794) as:

wildness, ruggedness, broken ground, straggling and bold herbage, dashing water, fantastic groups of vegetation, the cracked and discoloured stems and tortuous branches of trees, ruins nearly dismantled, except of the Ivy and the Fern, rude huts or cottages with their loose and mossy thatch, or buildings copiously stained by time and lichen.²⁷

This was encapsulated in *How to Lay Out a Garden* by two of Chapman's pictorial sketches (Figures 4 and 5). The mixed style, however, gave Kemp the flexibility to adapt his work to local conditions and different kinds of spaces, such as villa gardens, public parks and cemeteries, and to respond to the demands of middle-class suburban gardeners, improvement commissioners, parks committees, burial boards and other clients. Like Loudon, he tended not to do the picturesque style for entire places but in 'detached and retired portions' of gardens in contrast to formal elements such as terraces closer to houses or other main buildings. For Kemp, the real art of landscape gardening came from deciding which style should predominate, leaving others to be 'quietly introduced' and 'gradually blended, as subordinate features'.²⁸

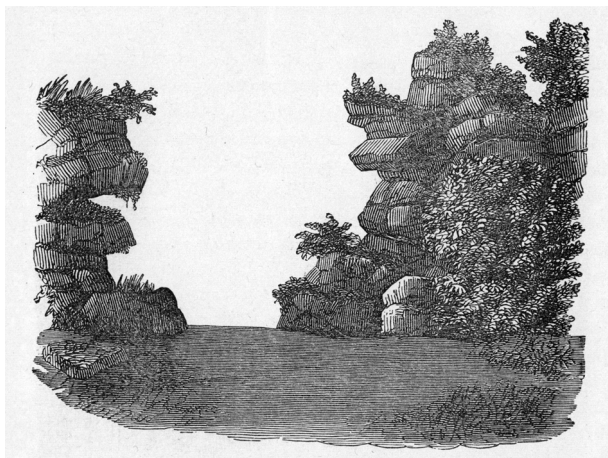


Figure 4. John Watkins Chapman, pictorial sketch of a small-scale picturesque scene; from Edward Kemp, *How to Lay Out a Garden*, 2nd edn (New York: John Wiley & Son, 1901) fig. 88

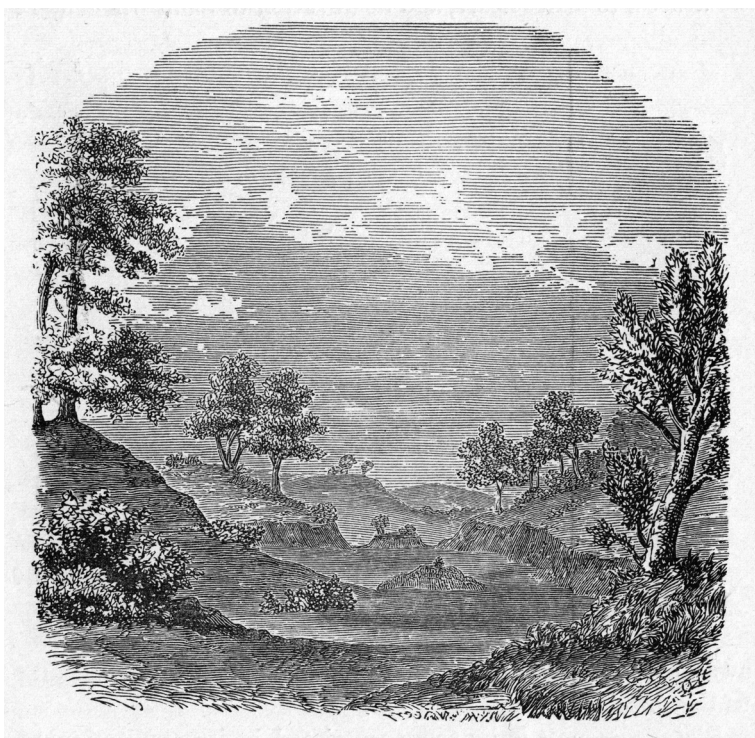


Figure 5. John Watkins Chapman, pictorial sketch of a picturesque landscape; from Edward Kemp, *How to Lay Out a Garden*, 2nd edn (New York: John Wiley & Son, 1901), fig. 89

Kemp's version of the gardenesque, which attracted praise in the *Gardener's Chronicle* review of *How to Lay Out a Garden*, was therefore complex and eclectic but also pragmatic and flexible, which helped to ensure its longevity. Individuality could be achieved by careful adaptation using already existing features on sites according to the character of place, climate, locality or the 'wants and tastes' of those commissioning the gardens. Some of the principles Kemp defined as essential for landscape gardening were apparently contradictory or at least difficult to combine: simplicity and intricacy were recommended along with unity and variety, utility with ornamentation, breadth with intricacy, seclusion with openness of view, originality with 'adhesion to law and obedience to nature', for example. The 'mixed' style allowed for blending of the formal

and picturesque with adaptations to suit climate, topography, and the prevalence and availability of local plants and trees. The garden served very much as an extension of the house similarly providing 'comfort', 'convenience', 'luxury' and functionality in a manner that expressed 'civilisation', 'care', 'design and refinement' with its 'choice flowers' and carefully nurtured 'culture of exotic trees and shrubs', the 'cracked and discoloured stems and tortuous branches' of which exemplified Price's picturesque.²⁹

Despite their size, Kemp's public parks and larger villa gardens were still expected to provide convenience, compactness, smugness, seclusion and proper 'gradation of parts' within ordered general conceptions of 'unity and congruity', connection and symmetry, ideas that would have been fully familiar to Repton decades previously. Various means were employed to provide stimulus to the imagination and an impression of greater size in smaller gardens using lawns, sunken and hidden walls and wire fences, and by turfing around plants, concealing walks, hiding perimeter lines and ugly or too prominent buildings beyond the boundaries and providing tantalizing but 'partial and broken' glimpses of exterior landscapes beyond. Within his parks and gardens, Kemp, like Paxton at Birkenhead, sought to heighten the aesthetic pleasure and enjoyment of visitors walking around using many techniques. Variety was obtained by mixed planting and varied arrangement of plants, provision of serpentine walks with different curves, by hiding and revealing paths, objects, plants and buildings, and by sudden experiences of glades, vistas, mounds, hollows and recesses.³⁰

TIME, ASSOCIATION AND HOME

Kemp's landscape gardening practice required more than merely mechanically applying the gardenesque style to create heterotopic places. He was also conscious of the multi-sensory and emotional responses to gardens such as the varied colours of leaves and flowers and shapes as they changed over the course of the seasons, specific landscape features and the power of association helped to turn gardens from mundane into special places and could also be stimulated in larger commissions such as cemeteries and public parks. Of course, these features were all essential to the operation of gardens as heterotopias and heterochronias, where the power of association was probably most fundamental. This was founded upon features or objects that suggested 'pleasing ideas, such as fitness, harmony, poetry, or the awakening of images that have formerly delighted', particularly old things that connected with 'ancestors or family', such as trees or plants that were known to have been 'planted, or reared, or tended'. So, gardens 'rich in family or other ancient records, or in which we or those we love have thought, or studied, or felt much', 'retired' nooks or 'secluded' places that had been tended by the 'fair hands of the departed' were 'hallowed and rendered sacred'.

Because they were 'abundantly fraught with the beauty of association', in this way mid-Victorian family gardens were closely related to the new garden and arboretum burial grounds, which in towns such as Liverpool with its St James's Cemetery (opened in 1829), served as some of the earliest specially designed public gardens.³¹ This 'benignant law' of association nurtured especially by trees because of their longevity and picturesque multi-sensory qualities, rendered gardens 'pregnant with both poetry and history' and might re-kindle the 'shades of long-buried thoughts and emotions' which was central 'to the material and the spiritual world' and could be stimulated by particular noises, smells, or sights which plucked the 'chords of the human heart'. It was 'an instinct which twines itself with our being', which could 'excite', 'develop' and also 'religiously' foster associations that softened and harmonized the 'heart' and refined 'the entire nature'. Accretions of association could be hastened by various tricks to produce instant maturity such as tree transplanting or incorporation of antiquities or fossils. But they would

anyway naturally begin to surround freshly planted shrubs or trees as they each gained a 'little history' of their own through sentimental attachments nurtured by 'personal trimming and training, and watering, and protecting', which demonstrated why gardens were so essential to new suburban developments.³²

Kemp's analysis of association as 'pleasing' appears to reflect the notion advocated by Gilpin and Price, rather than Knight's emphasis upon the subjective qualities of responses to nature. This undermined the belief that taste and judgement would be discerned by individuals schooled in received standards of taste and judgement, privileging the mind and imagination, hence ruinous or ugly objects and scenes might still induce stimulating associations. The influence of Gilpin and Price meant that Kemp drew upon a rich tradition of Georgian philosophical and aesthetic writing that had sought to understand the relationship between physiology, anatomy and sensation through behaviour and emotion. This included the work of John Locke (1632–1704), David Hume (1711–76) and various Scottish Enlightenment philosophers and the physician David Hartley (1705–57). But as with the picturesque, it was Gilpin, Repton and Loudon that most inspired Kemp.³³ Drawing upon the work of Dugald Stewart (1753–1828), Loudon emphasized that 'accidental associations' including 'classical and historical associations', national and personal associations needed to be considered when framing landscape gardening designs, a point that was evident most fully in the garden cemetery commissions that both Kemp and Loudon undertook with their rich accretions of meaning, value and sacredness heightened by monuments, statuary, chapels and incorporation of mature trees where possible.³⁴

By this 'benignant law' and through multiple sensory responses to landscape objects and features, which Kemp attributed to both conscious and apparently subconscious processes, people were indissolubly linked to both the spiritual and material worlds, gardens became 'pregnant with both poetry and history'. A chance scent, 'bursts of nature's vernal music', sunshine after rain, might all induce 'the shades of long buried thoughts and emotions' into 'new life with a thrilling power'. Such effects were very subtle and difficult to foster as the beauty of association was 'an instinct which twines itself without being' but features that tended to 'excite or develop it' might be 'religiously fostered' as both 'beneficial' and 'pleasurable', helping to soften and humanize the heart and refine human nature. Even in apparent wilderness, devoid of vestiges of humanity and interest, plants might soon acquire little histories of their own and become sources of 'endless amusement' through personal attention to their growth and protection fostering sentimental attachment to 'particular spots'.³⁵

For Kemp and his readers, the sacredness, attachments and memories of domestic life were transposed and extended into public gardens, which explained why although *How to Lay Out a Garden* had originally been written for small gardens, it easily became a manual for larger private and public ventures. Other contemporary horticulturists on both sides of the Atlantic emphasized the importance and temporal power of domestic associations for public and national institutions, echoing classical allusions to the sacredness of hearth and home and Francis Bacon's idea that the home was an epitome of the world while bringing gardens into the home itself. For example, James Shirley Hibberd's highly influential *Rustic Adornments for Homes of Taste* took as its principal theme lines from a prize-winning poem by J. W. Fletcher of Sunderland:

Round home what images of beauty cluster,
Links which unite the living with the dead.
Glimpses of scenes of most surpassing lustre,
Echoes of melody whose voice is fled.³⁶

For Hibberd, the home ought to be 'the union of nature and art', bringing together domestic life, the countryside and 'grey old woods', which together formed the national spirit that allowed Britain to 'remain calm amid the strife that besets the states around us' and 'ever' expand her 'material resources'. The preciousness of hearth and home was, of course, widely asserted on both sides of the Atlantic. Josiah Hoopes (1832–1904), the Pennsylvanian Quaker botanist and nurseryman, argued that all public and private gardens should be planted naturalistically with trees and shrubs, which would 'make home dearer to ourselves, and weave attractions around the spot', yielding 'a fund of pleasure unsurpassed' as each became 'a trusty friend, endeared by sweet associations of the past and bound by recollections' of care.³⁷

In his analyses of the psychological effects of landscape features, Olmsted extended this to argue that beauty depended upon 'elements of topography of a very simple character' such as the need for grazing, water and shelter, because these evoked basic ancestral needs, suggesting to an observer 'an easy gratification of [...] the elementary human impulses'. Although modern landscape gardening greatly refined this imperative, successful parks combined artificial formations with simplicity to appeal to 'the common and elementary impulses of all classes of mankind'.³⁸ Both Kemp and Olmsted emphasized that the most beautiful and effective park designs succeeded because they simultaneously satisfied and evoked basic ancestral impulses, contrasting past and present, poetic and primeval.

Such arguments were supported from the 1850s by the writings of Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), whose developmental philosophy was probably more influential in the United States than Britain, but whose work certainly informed Olmsted's psychological analysis. According to Spencer, the emotions engendered by scenic beauty resulted from 'the co-ordination' of 'vast aggregations' of 'gradually increasing sensations and ideas' excited and suggested by grand landscapes. Adult appreciations of landscape beauty aggregated childhood and youthful sensations re-kindling 'now vague' combinations of states 'organised in the race during barbarous times', which remained nascent, the picturesque requiring the intermixture of contrasting past utility with present ornamental embellishment.³⁹ With its emphasis upon the governing imperatives of economy of force and motion and the hereditary importance of stimulating and developing emotions to prevent atrophy, mid-Victorian developmental psychology provided further justification for urban park and suburban development on both sides of the Atlantic in the battle for resources against sceptical politicians while appealing to their notion of economic management.

There were growing concerns among doctors and intellectuals about the mental exhaustion and anxiety caused by the pace and relentlessness of modern urban living after 1850 and, as we have seen, Downing and other landscape gardeners, architects and urban planners believed that urban parks and suburban gardens provided 'refreshment' for 'jaded citizens'. In Britain, it was thought that the pace and pressures of business could cause brain fatigue and nervous exhaustion, and in 1869 the American psychologist George Miller Beard (1839–83) defined this as a debilitating psychopathological condition called neurasthenia. Symptoms were thought to include depression, fatigue, neuralgia and tiredness, which were believed to be caused by an exhaustion of energy reserves in the nervous system.⁴⁰ In the 1860s, Olmsted argued that parks were the perfect antidote to the 'stress of business' in places such as San Francisco, where 'failure of the vigour of the brain' was more common than elsewhere; while in 1868, he contended that well-designed parks with their 'simple, natural pleasures' formed with minimal 'exertion, effort and anxiety of mind' were 'restorative of that which is most apt to be lost or to become diseased and debilitated' among urban dwellers who led 'highly elaborate, sophisticated and artificial conditions' in their 'ordinary civilised' existences. Parks, therefore, needed a 'simple easy flowing topography' using lawns, wood, rocks and shrubberies, shelter and

shade to create 'open pastoral, inviting hospitable scenery making sure that 'all absolute limits' were screened by trees so that 'the imagination will be likely to assume no limit'.⁴¹

PUBLIC PARKS AND COASTAL VILLAS

Kemp's commissions demonstrate how he applied the picturesque to create heterotopic places differentiated from everyday living as part of a mixed style blending formalism with naturalism and adapted to local conditions in order to encapsulate the rustic ideal. Grosvenor Park in Chester, presented to the city with an annual endowment by Richard, 2nd Marquess of Westminster, and opened with great civic ceremony in 1867, provided many opportunities to apply the kind of methods detailed in *How to Lay Out a Garden*. The Victorians re-fronted many of the medieval and early modern shops in Chester in their version of the English vernacular, reconstructed the city walls, celebrating the antiquity of the city to foster civic pride and encourage visitors to boost the local economy, and the new public park extended and underscored these historical associations.

This is especially evident in the designs for buildings within the park by Chester architect John Douglas (1830–1911), but also the incorporation of other features and ways in which prospects were contrived. The main entrance lodge, for instance, was designed in timbered style intended to be 'in accordance with the ancient character of the City of Chester' with oak carvings of the earls of Chester and William the Conqueror, was replete with historical resonances that demarcated the park as a special place while underscoring its links with the ancient city.⁴² Similarly, gothic archways were removed from local churches and other sources and placed within the park (Figure 6), while Roman antiquities were also uncovered during landscaping and planting between 1865 and 1867. Designed by Kemp and laid out by Robert Reid, the park commanded views of 'Beeston Castle, the Ridley and Peckforton Hills, and the charming landscape of the meadows'.



Figure 6. Medieval arches in Grosvenor Park, Chester. Photo: author, 2010



Figure 7. Statue of Richard, 2nd Marquis of Westminster, in Grosvenor Park, Chester.
Photo: author, 2010

There were two main more formal fifteen-foot-wide avenues intersecting at right angles, where a statue of the ‘princely’ donor was placed in 1869 (Figure 7), and the one from the lodge southward was planted with ‘handsome specimens’ of Lawson cypress, Nootka or yellow cypress and golden or Chinese juniper in alternate pairs, which were easy to manage and would ‘not interfere with the view of the statue from Foregate-street and the entrance lodge’. The crossing east–west avenue, which terminated in the ‘fine old Church of St Johns’ with its evocative ruins, was planted with pyramidal broad-leaved hollies intended to ‘throw out the statue in bold relief’ and again keep the view of it ‘perfectly uninterrupted’. The comparatively informal, rustic ‘belts or clumps’ surrounding the park were ‘furnished with a great variety of ornamental and flowering trees and shrubs, evergreens and rhododendrons’. More evergreens were planted among rocks along walks with fine views sloping down towards the River Dee, while Billy Hobby’s Well at the bottom of the hill with its historical associations (and accretions) was covered with a new polished red granite cover with medieval-style capitals designed by Douglas and incorporated into the park while also serving a practical function as pump-house pavilion for the water gardens.⁴³

Another example of how Kemp adapted his mixed style to local conditions is his seaside gardens. With growing medical support and royal patronage at resorts such as Weymouth

and Brighton, sea bathing became fashionable, and as the Victorian rail network expanded and opportunities for leisure increased, the middle, and later working classes, travelled to the coast for their holidays. Appreciation of the aesthetic and natural historical qualities of coastal areas in an island nation also provided major attractions. With the vagaries of the British seaside climate and the need to provide attractions all year round for visitors, parks, gardens and winter gardens became crucial parts of the resort offering.⁴⁴

As the attractions of coastal living increased, especially for the sick and retired, so demand grew for seaside villas with private gardens, which, however, could not usually be planted in the same way as more sheltered inland places with richer soils. Architects, builders, developers and landscape gardeners such as Kemp, who undertook commissions for coastal gardens, therefore had to adapt their methods to suit the problems of poorer sandy soils, windy and changeable weather conditions, and saline spray. In his designs for a series of villa gardens around the Cheshire and North Wales coast, Kemp had to find ways of providing shelter against wind, rain and salty sprays and plants that would grow in sandy soils while achieving the same kind of picturesque effects his clients were used to in the suburbs of North Western towns.⁴⁵ The method he developed was to fix the soil down with clayey mud and grasses and obtain more shelter by forming sloped grassy banks, which he used in the gardens of a villa at Birkdale, near Southport, for Allan Kaye (Figure 8). Here, the banks formed a series of terraces coming up from the seashore with a fenced-off area to the north and more sheltered areas to the south. Rows of furze along each side of the garden provided evergreen protection and dense planting of poplars, willows, wych elms and deep-rooted sycamores between house and beech gave shelter and 'summer foliage'.⁴⁶

Kemp undertook various commissions at Southport itself, which was situated upon a 'vast, fat stretch of sand' just south of the Ribble Estuary and north of Liverpool, and came to be regarded as a model of how careful planting and cultivation could halt sand erosion and facilitate successful reclamation. Promoted by local landowners and the corporation, as well as encouraging the development of villas and gardens, the corporation commissioned Kemp to design Hesketh Park (1868) and the Botanic Gardens (1876) to help differentiate Southport as the more genteel alternative to nearby Blackpool. Even difficult coastal conditions could be surmounted in the quest for a rustic ideal of suburban living.

THE IMPACT OF KEMP'S WORK IN THE UNITED STATES AND AUSTRALIA

The extent to which American landscape gardeners such as Downing and Olmsted were inspired by Birkenhead has already been emphasized, and Kemp's *How to Lay Out a Garden* helped to reinforce adherence to the rustic suburban ideal of middle-class living in North America where, if anything, residential suburbs were growing 'even more rapidly than in Britain'.⁴⁷ Originally published in 1850, the book continued to be republished and used in the United States into the first decades of the twentieth century. Equally, Kemp's ideas and methods had much influence in the Australian colonies where urban transformation and improved transport links were proceeding apace following the gold rush years of the mid-nineteenth century, and models were being sought for public parks, cemeteries and suburban gardens. British immigrants enjoyed the comfort of feeling at home in a more exotic climate and sought to impose and adapt gardening styles to local conditions, while many landscape gardeners, gardeners and nurserymen arrived from the mother country to take advantage of the new opportunities.⁴⁸ Richard Aitken has argued that 'an emphasis on plants and contrast' quickly turned 'more generally to the conspicuous introduction of art into gardens' especially through 'new international texts by Charles McIntosh and Edward Kemp', who both 'enjoyed wide circulation in

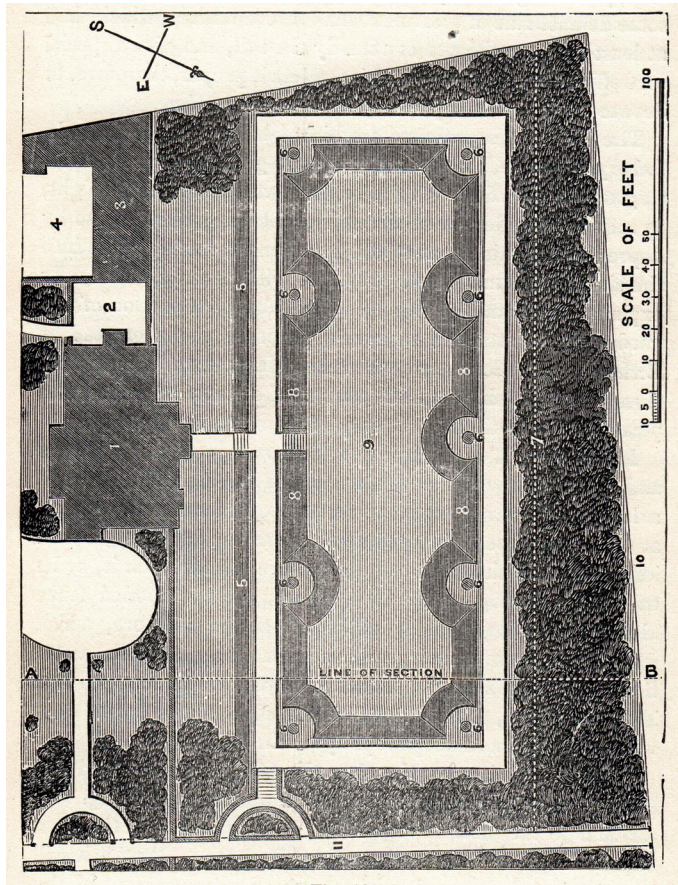


Figure 8. Scaled coastal villa design for Birkdale, near Southport, for Allan Kaye; from Edward Kemp, *How to Lay Out a Garden*, 2nd edn (New York: John Wiley & Son, 1901), fig. 181

Australia', with Kemp's book being a popular source of ideas and text for colonial authors. In 1880, one popular colonial handbook continued to take text 'directly from Kemp' when it advised that there were 'three principal kinds of style recognised in landscape gardening', the old formal or geometric, mixed or gardenesque or the picturesque styles, while his definition of the gardenesque or mixed style was likewise 'widely quoted and invoked in the Australian colonies'.⁴⁹

Kemp's work undoubtedly had a major influence on American landscape gardening between 1850 and 1930 at a crucial time in the development of suburbs defined by their gardens, urban parks and, indeed, national parks.⁵⁰ The movement of travellers and exchange of ideas across the Atlantic was encouraged by technological improvements, notably the advent of steam crossings, the laying of transatlantic cables and telegraphy. Dramatic reductions in travel times facilitated mass emigration but also exacerbated tensions with indigenous peoples and urban poverty, health and sanitation problems, and concerns over assimilation and identity.⁵¹ While numerous immigrants came from Britain and Ireland, landscape gardeners, writers and artists such as Calvert Vaux, Olmsted's London-born collaborator on Central Park, travelled both ways, observing landscape gardening designs and practices.⁵² Olmsted's influential reports were just one part of a much broader phenomenon. As North American immigration patterns changed, so other nationalities brought their ideas and experiences to the 'New World' and there were various disagreements over how European ideas and practices might be adapted

to American conditions. However, the rustic suburban ideals and picturesque 'natural' landscape gardening methods also helped to mask, naturalize and assist the oppression and dispossession of native American cultures and the continuation of slavery and elite control over the landscape evident in the eradication and excision from history of the predominantly black and Irish-American settlements, to make way for Central Park by New York park promoters and city fathers.⁵³ As we have seen in the case of Birkenhead, the rising land and property values that urban parks and suburban villa development brought was a major attraction and an incentive for green space development on the basis of the 'proximate principle'.⁵⁴ This, in turn, provided an additional motivation for the emulation of the 'old' country with its historic parks, gardens and idealized productive and contended rural communities.

American publications on landscape gardening, such as Frank Jesup Scott's study of suburban gardens, proclaimed that 'compared with the English we are yet novices in the fine arts of gardening' and the 'exquisite rural taste' that marked even 'the poorer classes' of England. For Scott (1828–1919), an Ohio landscape gardener who had been a friend and student of Downing, Loudon's works contained 'almost everything worth knowing in the arts of gardening', but Kemp's book, from which he quoted extensively, was 'a work so complete and well condensed, that were it not for the difference in the climate, and in the style of living [...] there would be no need' for his own work.⁵⁵ The high regard in which Kemp was held in America also helps to explain why he was considered for New York's Central Park commission, along with Paxton and Alphand. No doubt partly because of its attention to some coastal sites, when Olmsted was asked to advise on the best introduction to landscape gardening theory by the young engineer William Hammond Hall (1846–1934), designer of San Francisco's Golden Gate Park in 1871, he recommended reading the works of British landscape gardeners, including Repton, Price, Gilpin, Steuart, Loudon and Kemp's *How to Lay Out a Garden*.⁵⁶

Until 1911, American editions of Kemp's book simply reproduced the text of the second London edition of 1858, prefaced by a warning from the publishers that 'while the principles of taste which it advocates and inculcates are applicable to all regions and climes', the list of plants was more appropriate for England rather than all parts of America. In 1911, however, a special American edition by Frank Waugh (1869–1943) appeared prompted by the need to adapt Kemp's approach to landscape gardening to American conditions. Kemp's textbook was used by Waugh to teach landscape gardening at Massachusetts Agricultural College, where one of his courses included a specific focus on the 'grouping of trees and shrubs', a subject that Kemp had always prioritized.⁵⁷ It was one of the first volumes on the subject read by Waugh, who regarded it as 'one of the most delightful' of such works, and who contended that 'the natural style [i.e., what Kemp would have called the mixed or gardenesque style] is unquestionably the favourite in England and America, and probably only less so in France and Germany'.⁵⁸ The construction of integrated park systems was continuing apace in America, but rather than suggesting the need to reduce popular interest in what was then regarded as a transatlantic landscape gardening tradition, Waugh argued that it was more necessary than ever to study Repton, Milner, Loudon, Kemp and Downing. With the 'remarkable liberalisation of landscape art now going on in America', he believed there was 'more interest than ever before' in the work of 'those great men who established the English (and therefore the American) style of landscape gardening'.⁵⁹

CONCLUSIONS

Kemp's commissions and his publications, especially *How to Lay Out a Garden*, had a national and international influence and their impact was way beyond what he might

have expected. His long career and association with the prestigious Birkenhead Park and many commissions over nearly half a century, including villa gardens, public parks and cemeteries, provided a range of practical examples of his work for new generations of landscape gardeners. Through American editions of his key book and its circulation in Australia, his impact was international and continued beyond his lifetime as the gardenesque ideas and methods that he advocated were applied across North America from New York to San Francisco. There were many reasons for the success of his seminal book on landscape gardening, including the addition of maps, plans and high-quality engravings for the second and third editions by his friend, the artist Chapman. But it has been argued here that it was Kemp's success at distilling and adapting the gardenesque and the rustic tradition for public parks, cemeteries and especially suburban gardens which was most crucial. Probably more than any other landscape gardeners, Loudon and Kemp ensured that suburban living was differentiated and defined by its gardens. In his most successful book, Kemp had 'boldly' treated the special green havens of the Victorian middle class as 'real' works of 'art', and 'often of very high art too', flattering them to believe that they too could emulate on a smaller scale the pleasure grounds of great country houses while excluding those with insufficient taste, judgment or indeed money to appreciate or emulate.⁶⁰ According to their American follower Scott, the 'half acre of a suburban cottage' could be 'as perfect a work of art' as 'any part of the great Chatsworth of the Duke of Devonshire', but this was ultimately in service of modern urban family living, wealth creation and class differentiation. As Kemp's home town of Birkenhead demonstrated so well, landscape gardening could not be castigated as idle luxuries of pleasures for their own sake.⁶¹

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⁴³ Plan of Chester Park, c.1865, 40 chains to 1', Cheshire County Record Office, DPA/1; Anon., *Chester Chronicle* (9 November 1867); Davey, "A complete and constant superintendence", pp. 71–99; Description of Grosvenor Park for listing, English Heritage (2002) (available at: <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1001577>).

⁴⁴ John Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History, 1750–1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983); *idem*, 'Seaside tourism and environmental history', in Genevieve Massard-Guilbaud and Stephen Mosley (eds), *Common Ground: Integrating the Social and Environmental History* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2011), pp. 66–87; Peter Borsay and John Walton (eds), *Resorts and Ports: European Seaside Resorts and Ports Since 1700* (Bristol: Channel View); Elliott, *British Urban Trees*, pp. 297–339.

⁴⁵ Kemp, *How to Lay Out a Garden*, pp. 34–3.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Henry W. Lawrence, *City Trees: A Historical Geography from the Renaissance through the Nineteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), p. 226.

⁴⁸ Max Bourke, 'Trees on trial: economic arboreta in Australia', in *Garden History*, 35(Suppl. 2) [special issue: Paul A. Elliott,

Charles Watkins and Stephen Daniels (eds), 'Cultural and Historical Geographies of the Arboretum'] (2007), pp. 217–26; Paul Elliott and Christine Drew, 'Victorian gardening, horticulture and arboriculture in the Midlands: John Frederick Wood (1806–1865) of Nottingham and the Midland Florist and Suburban Horticulturist', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 126 (2016), pp. 121–42.

⁴⁹ Richard Aitken, *The Garden of Ideas: Four Centuries of Australian Style* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publ., 2011), pp. 75, 77.

⁵⁰ Lawrence, *City Trees*, pp. 222–36.

⁵¹ Maldwyn A. Jones, *The Limits of Liberty, American History, 1607–1992*, 2nd edn (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 129–33, 319–25.

⁵² Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 123–49.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 68–76.

⁵⁴ John L. Crompton, *The Proximate Principle. The Impact of Parks, Open Space and Water Features on Residential Property Values and the Property Tax Base*, 2nd edn (Ashburn: National Recreation and Park Association, 2004), esp. ch. 2, pp. 37–54, for a discussion of Regent's Park, Princes Park, Birkenhead Park, Central Park and park development in New Jersey. The author is grateful to Robert Lee for this reference.

⁵⁵ Frank J. Scott, *The Art of Beautifying Suburban Home Grounds of Small Extent* (New York: Appleton, 1870), pp. 13, 77–8, 105–6.

⁵⁶ Terence Young, *Building San Francisco's Parks, 1850–1930* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 74–5, 229.

⁵⁷ Waugh was one of the most highly regarded landscape gardeners of his generation. He was appointed Professor of Horticulture at Massachusetts Agriculture College and ultimately became Head of the Division of Horticulture. He was a prolific author with numerous books listed in publishers' wholesale catalogues; *Catalogue of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, 1902–1903*, p. 9; *The Publishers' Trade List Annual, Part 2, 1918–1919* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1918). For example, in the trade list of Orange Judd Co., Waugh's five publications, including *Landscape Gardening*, accounted for over half the publisher's total output (nine) in the section 'Landscape Gardens and Forests'. The author is grateful to Robert Lee for this reference.

⁵⁸ Frank A. Waugh, *Landscape Gardening* (New York: Orange Judd, 1910), p. 15.

⁵⁹ Samuel Parsons, *Landscape Gardening* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904).

⁶⁰ Anon., 'Review of Kemp, *How to Lay Out a Garden*'.

⁶¹ Scott, *Art of Beautifying Suburban Home Grounds*, p. 14.